Report

on the Work of the Organization
from the Forty-sixth to the Forty-seventh
Session of the General Assembly

Report on the Work of the Organization · 1992

Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary-General of the United Nations

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September 1992

United Nations · New York, 1992

Office of Conference Services
Department of Administration and Management

Department of Public Information

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I. *Introduction*
An opportunity regained

AS I CAME into the office of Secretary-General, in January 1992, the first-ever meeting of the Security Council at the level of Heads of State and Government took place. 1

The Summit represented an unprecedented recommitment, at the highest political level, to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It represented the start of a new phase in the history of the Organization. The power struggle of the cold war decades and its underlying assumption that history is the unfolding of a struggle between two competing systems permeated international relations and made the original promise of the Organization extremely difficult to fulfil. In that situation, the world envisioned in the Charter seemed to be an aspiration for a distant future. The success of the majority of Member States in keeping this vision alive throughout those difficult years merits praise and admiration. 2

With the end of the bipolar era and the opening of a new chapter in history, States see the United Nations once again as an instrument capable of maintaining international peace and security, of advancing justice and human rights, and of achieving, in the words of the Charter, "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". The Summit was a symbol of the unique point that has been reached in world affairs and in the history of the United Nations. 3

Thus, at the outset of my tenure as Secretary-General it is possible to sense a new stirring of hope among the nations of the world, and a recognition that an immense opportunity is here to be seized. Not since the end of the Second World War have the 4

expectations of the world's peoples depended so much upon the capacity of the United Nations for widely supported and effective action.

5 As I write this report, one great reality stands out: never before in its history has the United Nations been so action-oriented, so actively engaged, and so widely expected to respond to needs both immediate and pervasive. Clearly, it is in our power to bring about a renaissance—to create a new United Nations for a new international era.

6 The transition from the old to the new United Nations is neither easy nor risk-free. We are still absorbing the lessons of the end of the cold war. The bipolar competition, which carried an ever-present threat of nuclear devastation, provided a tenuous framework for international relations. New and more enduring structures must now be built. As we look towards days filled with promise, we must also be prepared to deal with uncertainty. The departure of one set of global problems has been followed by the emergence of a multitude of others.

7 In my view, the United Nations has not confronted a time of such significance since the period of its founding in 1945. The years between 1992 and the fiftieth anniversary, in 1995, may well determine the course and contribution of the Organization for the next generation or more. Improvement is a never-ending task. Yet there is an expectation, which I wish to see fulfilled, that a fundamental renewal of the United Nations will be complete by the time it marks its first half-century of existence.

8 It is in this setting that, in accordance with Article 98 of the Charter, and eight months into my tenure as Secretary-General, I submit my first annual report on the work of the Organization. In these pages I seek to give my sense of the Organization and its changing role at a time when the world community is entering largely uncharted territory. We need a new spirit of commonality, commitment and intellectual creativity to transform a period of hope into an era of fulfilment.

The second section of my report discusses the process of change that the United Nations is undergoing as an institution; the third deals with the challenge of international cooperation for development; and the fourth section looks at United Nations peace endeavours throughout the world. Finally, I return to the dominant theme of my report, which is that the current international situation requires an Organization capable of dealing comprehensively with the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of human development. This requires the full application of the principles of democracy within the family of nations and within our Organization. I take this as my central priority as Secretary-General. 9

II. The United Nations as an institution

A. EXPANDING RESPONSIBILITIES

10 EACH major turning point in the course of this century has been reflected by changes in the community of States. The founding of the United Nations confirmed the centrality of the sovereign State as the primary entity of international relations. The end of the colonial era during the mid-century decades brought many new Member States into the United Nations. Today, the transition from one international era to another is symbolized by the wave of new Member States that have now taken their seats in the General Assembly: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan—all joining the Organization in the first eight months of 1992. Most of these new States represent people who have recently gained freedom. They embody a renewal of the fundamental concept of the State by which peoples find a unity and a voice in the international community.

11 In many of these lands, cold-war constraints served to suppress deep-rooted antagonisms. Ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversities were held in check by political suppression or by the threat of outside intervention and dangerous escalation. Far fewer reasons for restraint exist today. A resurgence of open rivalry and strife is now taking place. As many new States find themselves free to pursue more open forms of economic policy that promise progress, the very achievement of statehood often involves the breakdown of old and predictable patterns of economic interaction.

12 Today, no State is immune to the revolutionary changes in the international system. Old assumptions, preconceptions and

structures have been swept away in a torrent of change. While change brings renewal and a fresh dynamic, it can also bring disruption and violence. The task of adjusting the institutions of international relations will have to take place in a period of tumultuous upheaval. The process of adjustment will be painful and costly, yet we have an unrivalled opportunity to breathe new life into our vocabulary and institutions.

13 Present demands on the United Nations have no precedent in its history. The presence of the Organization is being more intensely felt worldwide as it helps people in danger, need or despair. The United Nations is constantly at work: from Security Council meetings and consultations on an almost continuous basis to peace-keeping operations on four continents; from good offices and quiet diplomacy to essential humanitarian missions and responses to emergencies all over the world; from major economic and social conferences, such as the Earth Summit, to technical cooperation activities in practically every developing country.

14 The turning point in the scale and scope of United Nations activities can be discerned after the year 1987. For the first time in many years agreement on a wide range of issues became possible, effectively marking an end to the cold war. Yet this same point also can be seen to mark the beginning of shock waves caused by the reawakening of old conflicts and the emergence of a number of new rivalries. A consequent increase in United Nations activities can be traced quite clearly after 1987.

15 Graphic illustrations of the expanding role of the United Nations are depicted in figures at the end of sections II and IV. In reviewing the work of the Organization over the course of the past five years, one cannot avoid the feeling of looking at a qualitatively different body. Some figures speak volumes about the changing international scene.

Expanding activities of the Security Council

16 The Security Council's workload today, when compared with the cold-war period, reveals a dramatic increase. The extent of change can be discerned in the sheer number of scheduled activities. In all of 1987, the Council met 49 times, whereas in the first seven months of 1992 alone there were 81 official meetings. The same drastically changed pattern is reflected in the number of consultations. In 1987, there were 360 bilateral consultations; in the first seven months of 1992, 598 took place. Similarly, in 1987 there were 43 consultations of the whole, while the first seven months of 1992 produced 119. As a consequence of such expanded activity, 14 Security Council resolutions were adopted in all of 1987. In the first seven months of 1992, there were 46. As for presidential statements, there were nine in 1987, while in the first seven months of 1992 alone, 43 were issued (see figures 1 and 2 at end of section II).

Expanding role of peace-keeping

17 Between 1948 and 1987, the United Nations established 13 peace-keeping operations. Since 1988, 13 new peace-keeping operations have been organized, in addition to five which have continued from the earlier period. Currently, the United Nations administers 12 peace-keeping operations in various regions of the world (see figures 5 and 6 at end of section IV).

18 Nearly 40,000 authorized military personnel are serving under United Nations command in peace-keeping operations around the world. Peace-keeping operations approved at present are estimated to cost close to $3 billion in the current 12-month period, more than four times the previous highest annual figure—and this only if no new operations are required. The nature of peace-keeping operations is evolving rapidly and requires, in addition to military personnel, substantial numbers of civilians,

including specialists in electoral procedure, health, finance, engineering and administration. Their work is crucial to post-conflict peace-building.

19 The reality of these remarkable increases is revealed in raw numbers. In 1987 there were 9,666 military personnel deployed. In mid-1992 the number deployed stood at 38,144. As for police personnel deployed, in 1987 there were 35; at present, 2,461 police are deployed; in 1987 there were 877 civilians employed in peace-keeping operations; as of August 1992, the number of international and local civilian personnel reached 9,461 (see figure 4 at end of section IV).

Expanding mandates of the Secretariat

20 The responsibilities of the Organization's administrative body have expanded in a corresponding fashion, also vividly demonstrating the remarkable change from cold-war levels of activity to those at the present time. This year, to date, 75 diplomatic missions of fact-finding, representation and good offices have been undertaken on my behalf. In response to requests from the General Assembly, 189 reports were submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly in its most recent session. In 1987 the Secretary-General received only 87 such requests.

21 On the other hand, available resources have not paralleled the rapid expansion of United Nations activities. In 1987, the number of United Nations posts financed by the regular budget was 11,409. Today, in 1992, it has decreased to 10,100, despite the enormous increase in responsibilities entrusted to the Organization. The regular budget itself has not increased significantly, in real terms, since the mid-1980s (see figure 3 at end of section II).

22 I welcome these increased duties and responsibilities. They signal a recognition that the United Nations is the strongest hope for a better world. I welcome the added demands they place upon the Organization and accept the challenge they pose in re-

quiring a search for greater efficiency in the conduct of its mandated activities. Under these circumstances, I have taken and will continue to take all reasonable measures to increase the efficiency, productivity and responsiveness of the Secretariat.

B. STREAMLINING THE SECRETARIAT

An effective response to the enormous responsibilities and opportunities inherent in this era will require the fullest possible cooperation between Member States, the Secretary-General and the staff of the Organization. For my part, to meet the new challenges and adapt the Organization to the evolving demands of the times, I have initiated the process of restructuring the Secretariat. My intention is to make the most effective use of resources at my disposal through a rationalization and streamlining of structures and procedures, as well as managerial improvements. A more effective and efficient Secretariat means clearer and more direct lines of responsibility, the capacity to deploy staff and resources where they are most needed, and the ability to respond flexibly to new requests and changing mandates. *23*

The General Assembly has before it the outcome of the first phase of this restructuring. A number of offices have been regrouped, related functions and activities have been consolidated and redeployments of resources have been undertaken. Unnecessary bureaucratic layers have been reduced through the elimination of several high-level posts. Lines of responsibility have been more clearly defined by concentrating the decision-making process in seven key departments at Headquarters under eight Under-Secretaries-General. The needs of each component of the Secretariat are now being re-evaluated with a view, on the one hand, to eliminating any remaining duplication and redundancy and, on the other, to reinforcing those offices and departments with expanding mandates and responsibilities. *24*

A greater integration of efforts in support of development was the main objective of the first phase of the restructuring in *25*

the economic and social area. This will be pursued and further refined in the second phase. The capacity of the Secretariat to provide a timely and coordinated response to complex emergencies and the delivery of humanitarian assistance has also been consolidated and strengthened.

26 In the political sector, the purpose is to strengthen the support provided to the Secretary-General in matters related to the maintenance of international peace and security and to enable the Secretariat to respond swiftly and efficiently to the mandates of the Security Council and the General Assembly. My aim is to develop an enhanced capacity for good offices, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, research and analysis and early warning, as well as to strengthen the planning and managerial capability of the Secretariat in peace-keeping.

27 I believe that the Secretariat will be better able to provide more effective and integrated assistance to Member States with a streamlined structure comprising components with clearly delineated responsibilities and greater managerial accountability, which are better aware of the essential linkages among the various mandates of the Organization.

28 While the first phase of the reorganization was focused on offices at Headquarters, I am now extending the process of reform to other parts of the Organization, with special attention to the economic and social sectors. A primary objective will be a more effective Organization-wide distribution of responsibilities and balance between functions performed at Headquarters and those carried out by the regional commissions and other United Nations organs and programmes, based on a clear understanding of our priorities and the comparable advantage of each component. I am seeking broadly representative high-level advice on these complex issues from an independent panel of experts to help me ensure that the Organization as a whole provides Governments with advice and support adapted to their changing needs.

I firmly believe that the focus of the United Nations must remain in the "field", where economic, social and political decisions take effect. A unified United Nations presence at the country level would, in my view, greatly enhance the impact of the Organization and facilitate inter-agency coordination in support of national action. I intend to work further towards this end. The experience of the United Nations Interim Offices, which I have asked the United Nations Development Programme and the Department of Public Information to establish in six countries of the former Soviet Union, will be drawn upon to further this integrated approach. *29*

Strengthening linkages between global strategies and operational activities in the field is a major concern. Current intergovernmental discussions on the reform of operational activities and their governance can be of great signi ficance in this regard. It is important that the restructuring should be supportive of this objective and not only lead to a more dynamic Organization, but also contribute to greater coherence and effectiveness for the entire United Nations system. *30*

Administrative Committee on Coordination

As the highest body bringing together the executive heads of all the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system, the Administrative Committee on Coordination must be the guiding force to promote coherence in the work of the system. The firmest foundation for effective coordination, I am convinced, is a strong commitment on the part of all concerned to an international civil service whose conditions are administered in a truly common system and which shares clear common objectives and goals. *31*

As we look toward the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, with various reforms under consideration, it is essential that the current system should be made to work to the full extent of its potential. In this respect, I am sure that the specialized *32*

agencies will want to ensure that their autonomy is consistent with the overall view which the world situation demands. Impressively, this was the attitude of the Directors-General of the specialized agencies and the heads of the Bretton Woods institutions and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which make up the membership of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, at the meeting of that Committee held at Geneva from 8 to 10 April.

33 One reason why the problem of coordination has appeared intractable is the fact that the structure was devised in 1946 at San Francisco on the basis of a deliberate decision to organize international cooperation through the combined action of the United Nations, on the one hand, and a number of autonomously functioning specialized agencies on the other. Functional autonomy is explicitly and implicitly recognized in the agreements concluded from that time onwards between the United Nations and the existing or future specialized agencies. The system we are operating with has remained virtually unchanged over the last 46 years.

34 The need to improve coordination has been a continuing theme in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the governing bodies of the organizations which make up the United Nations system. The many efforts made so far have brought modest and partial improvements.

35 The executive heads of the agencies of the United Nations family all believe that a fresh look is urgently required to enable the system to meet new challenges and objectives, including the ambitious goals recently set by the Rio de Janeiro Conference with respect to sustainable development and the environment. They are fully in agreement that in the months to come the problem of coordination must be tackled seriously at the level of both programmes and operational activities. The goal is to ensure that the services which the system provides to Governments are coherent, that its component parts draw on one an-

other's resources rather than duplicating them and that there is selectivity and coordination in coverage.

Alongside current efforts to revitalize central intergovern- *36*
mental bodies, particularly the Economic and Social Council, reforms in the functioning of the Administrative Committee on Coordination itself are in order. Intergovernmental bodies need an effective and responsive Administrative Committee on Coordination, in a position to bring to bear on their work the wealth of experience and the wide range of analytical and operational capabilities available throughout the system, and able to support it with well-grounded policy options. In turn, the effectiveness of the Committee depends in many ways on a better coordination of national and group positions in the various governing bodies of the system, and on the capacity of the United Nations intergovernmental machinery to build a strong international consensus, based on a comprehensive approach to global, regional and national security, which can guide and harness the work of the various organizations of the system.

As its Chairman, I intend to give close personal attention to *37*
the work of the Administrative Committee on Coordination. Our objectives should include: better focused inter-agency consultations; enhanced system-wide arrangements for data exchange; clear agendas for common action supported by strong analysis and wide consultations; active direct contacts among executive heads outside formal meetings; a streamlining and continuous assessment of existing consultative mechanisms and constant adaptation of them to meet evolving needs.

In agreement with the members of the Administrative *38*
Committee on Coordination, I have commissioned a comprehensive study by a high-level consultant of the functioning of this key body with a view to developing new approaches to system-wide collaboration and ensuring that the structures of inter-agency coordination are well adapted to the challenges ahead.

Further steps will be taken when I have received the report and its recommendations.

C. REINVIGORATING THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE

39 The restructuring process I have initiated must be accompanied by a deeper appreciation of and respect for the International Civil Service. My efforts at organizational reform within the Secretariat will be successful only if they are accompanied by strong political support to preserve the integrity, international character and independence of the staff of the Organization. Of all the tangible and intangible resources available to the Organization, and to the Secretary-General, nothing matches the worth of its staff. They must be provided conditions of employment which ensure that the service will continue to attract the best qualified personnel from all parts of the world. At this time of unprecedented responsibilities and ever-expanding mandates, the Secretariat of the United Nations is stretched thinly across a widening range of activities. The confidence of the international community in the Organization's ability to respond swiftly, effectively and impartially rests largely on the performance of its staff.

40 Since I assumed office I have been repeatedly impressed by the dedication and versatility of the United Nations staff. In the course of less than a year they have responded to many hitherto unfamiliar tasks. Many have assumed new or additional functions or volunteered for mission service at short notice, often in hardship and dangerous situations—frequently compelled to leave their families behind for extended periods. They have done so willingly, in the interests of building a new society, ensuring the fairness of an electoral process or facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance. At headquarters, staff members are responding on a 24-hour basis to the constant require-

ments of complex operations in many time zones, servicing double or triple the number of meetings, and producing increasing volumes of documentation with shorter and shorter deadlines. They are being called upon to undertake research and provide policy options in a rapidly changing world where long-established modes of thinking and acting are constantly questioned or redefined. Others are managing, in a situation of financial uncertainty, complex operations involving tens of thousands of military and civilian personnel in the field.

In any institution, restructuring and change is an unsettling process for the staff, and this is particularly so at a time when substantially increased demands are being made on them. I am fully aware of current concerns, and I am counting on the dedicated professionalism of my staff to cope with the demands of this time of transition. I want them to grasp the inherent possibilities of the expanding role of the Organization. I see here a unique opportunity to build a stronger, more self-reliant Secretariat where the best traditions of public service are combined with modern management practices. *41*

Once the current phases of restructuring have been completed, I intend to focus on the improvement of the conditions of service, including salaries, long-term recruitment policies, grade structure and career development opportunities. I should like to build an Organization based on competitive recruitment at all levels, with career development policies which will motivate and reward staff for creativity, versatility and mobility, and the comprehensive training necessary to adjust staff skills to changing requirements. It is totally unacceptable that some staff members receive national subsidies to support their emoluments, while others are subjected to a salary freeze owing to considerations of financial restraint. I intend to avoid politicization of the Secretariat, to resist outside pressures which favour a few at the expense of the majority and to give proper recognition to the contributions and talents of many who may not have re- *42*

ceived equal attention in the past, including women in all parts of the Organization.

43 As I have said, I am committed to eliminating unnecessary bureaucratic levels, abolishing duplication and using the human and financial resources at my disposal in the most efficient and responsible manner possible. I believe that the staff have demonstrated that they share my aspirations and are rising to the challenge to make the Organization the most effective instrument possible for peace and development.

D. SECURING FINANCIAL STABILITY

44 The Organization is being restructured to serve its ends anew. Yet amid the tumult of demands placed upon it, the United Nations cannot afford to become a victim of its own popularity, suffering from a crisis of expectations rather than, as in the past, from a lack of credibility in its capacity to command consensus. In carrying out its added responsibilities, the institutional innovation and political resilience of the Organization have been as striking as its financial insecurity. To ensure that the Organization is fully prepared to respond to the new requirements of international action, the United Nations will need the unstinting financial support of its Members.

45 The programme budget of the United Nations for the current biennium was adopted by the General Assembly by consensus. The same consensus prevailed for the adoption of the previous programme budget, as well as for the acceptance of all major budgets of recent peace-keeping operations. Such broad agreement of all Member States—major and other contributors to the financing of the Organization—represents a significant and welcome change from the not too distant past. A major step forward in this regard was General Assembly resolution 41/213, which established a new budgetary process for the United Nations.

46 A fundamental aspect of General Assembly resolution

41/213, which called for payment in full and on time by all Member States of their assessed contributions, however, has yet to be implemented. As of September 1992 only 52 Member States had paid in full their dues to the regular budget of the United Nations. Unpaid assessed contributions totalled $908.5 million. Unpaid contributions towards peace-keeping operations stood at $844.4 million. At the end of August 1992, I was able to pay the salaries of the regular staff of this Organization only through borrowing from peace-keeping funds with available cash. Perennial shortages, the absence of reserves and a debilitating uncertainty over the immediate future are the main characteristics of the financial situation of the United Nations.

47 When putting into effect Article 17 of the Charter, which states that the General Assembly considers and approves the budget of the Organization, Member States have an opportunity to examine in depth the budget proposals of the Secretary-General. At that time, it is their privilege and their duty to question, sometimes to criticize and, in all cases, to analyse both the basic orientation and the detailed provisions of the various budgets of the Organization. After adoption, especially when such adoption occurs by consensus, it is the obligation of Member States to pay in full and on time their assessed contributions in order to ensure the financing of all activities of the Organization which Member States themselves consider and approve. The simple reason for the deplorable financial situation of the Organization remains the fact that a number of Member States do not meet their obligations. Figure 3 in this report illustrates the dimension of what has become the perennial financial plight of the United Nations.

48 There are two main areas of concern: the ability of the Organization to function over the longer term and the immediate requirements to respond to a crisis.

49 To remedy the financial situation of the United Nations in

all its aspects, a number of proposals are before the General Assembly. I urge that they be acted upon.

50 To deal with the cash-flow problems caused by the exceptionally high level of unpaid contributions as well as with the problem of inadequate working capital reserves, it is proposed that:

(*a*) Interest be charged on the amounts of assessed contributions that are not paid on time;

(*b*) Certain financial regulations of the United Nations to permit the retention of budgetary surpluses be suspended;

(*c*) The Working Capital Fund be increased to a level of $250 million, with endorsement of the principle that the level of the Fund should be approximately 25 per cent of the annual assessment under the regular budget;

(*d*) A temporary peace-keeping reserve fund be established at a level of $50 million, to meet initial expenses of peace-keeping operations, pending receipt of assessed contributions;

(*e*) The Secretary-General be authorized to borrow commercially, should other sources of cash be inadequate.

51 The establishment of a United Nations peace endowment fund, with an initial target of $1 billion, also has been proposed. The fund would be created by a combination of assessed and voluntary contributions, with the latter being sought from Governments and the private sector, as well as individuals. Once the fund reached its target level, the proceeds from the investments of its principal would be used to finance the initial costs of authorized peace-keeping operations, other conflict-resolution measures and related activities.

52 In addition to these proposals, other ideas include: a levy on arms sales that could be related to maintaining an arms register by the United Nations; a levy on international air travel, which

depends upon the maintenance of peace; authorization for the United Nations to borrow from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, for peace and development are interdependent; general tax exemption for contributions made to the United Nations by foundations, businesses and individuals; and changes in the formula for calculating the scale of assessments for peace-keeping operations.

As such ideas are debated, a stark fact remains: the financial foundations of the Organization daily grow weaker, debilitating its political will and practical capacity to undertake new and essential activities. This state of affairs must not continue. Whatever decisions are taken on financing the Organization, there is one inescapable necessity: Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. Failure to do so puts them in breach of their obligations under the Charter. *53*

In these circumstances and on the assumption that Member States will be ready to finance operations for peace in a manner commensurate with their present and welcome readiness to establish them, I recommend the following: *54*

(*a*) Immediate establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund of $50 million;

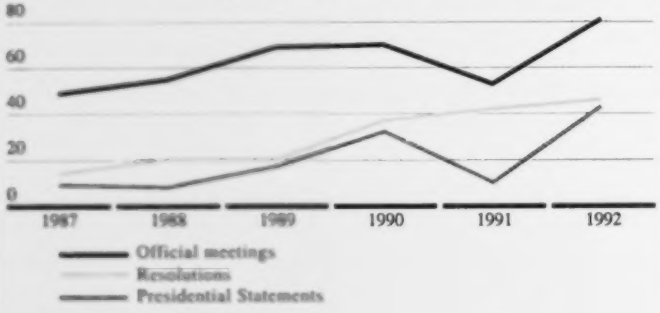
(*b*) Agreement that one third of the estimated cost of each new peace-keeping operation be appropriated by the General Assembly as soon as the Security Council decides to establish the operation; this would give the Secretary-General the necessary commitment authority and assure an adequate cash flow; the balance of the costs would be appropriated after the General Assembly approved the operation's budget;

(*c*) Acknowledgement by Member States that, under exceptional circumstances, political and operational considerations may make it necessary for the Secretary-General to employ his authority to place contracts without competitive bidding.

55 Member States wish the Organization to be managed with the utmost efficiency and care. I am in full accord. As this report indicates, I have taken important steps to streamline the Secretariat in order to avoid duplication and overlap while increasing its productivity. Additional changes and improvements will take place. As regards the United Nations system more widely, I continue to review the situation in consultation with my colleagues in the Administrative Committee on Coordination. The question of assuring financial security to the Organization over the long term is of such importance and complexity that public awareness and support must be heightened. I have therefore asked a select group of qualified persons of high international repute to examine this entire subject and to report to me. I intend to present their advice, together with my comments, for the consideration of the General Assembly, in full recognition of the special responsibility that the Assembly has, under the Charter, for financial and budgetary matters.

FIGURE 1

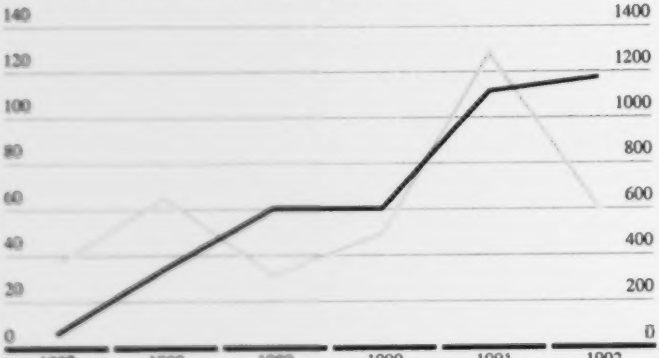
Security Council: Number of official meetings*, resolutions and presidential statements, 1987–1992



* 1990 includes one resumed meeting.
1991 includes six closed sessions of the same meeting in addition to an open session of the meeting.
1992 includes one resumed meeting.

FIGURE 2

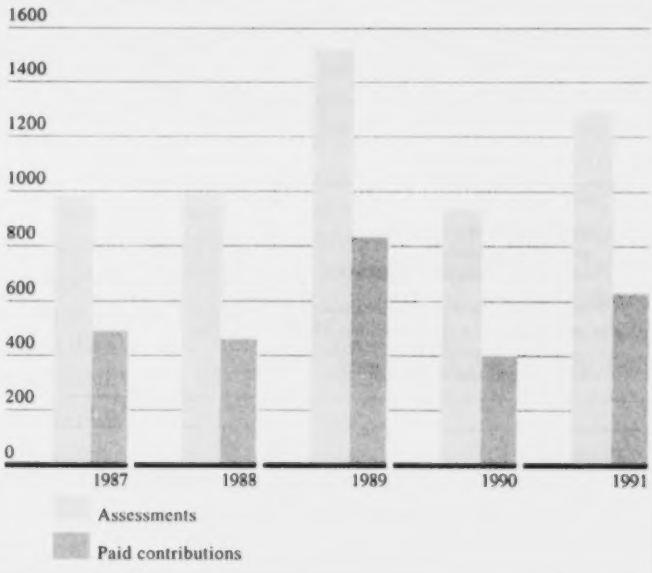
Security Council: Number of consultations of the whole and bilateral consultations*, 1987–1992



* 1990 includes one resumed meeting

FIGURE 3

Annual assessments and paid contributions:
regular budget and peace-keeping combined, 1987–1992



III. Global partnership for development

THE END of bipolarity has released vast political energies hitherto held mostly captive to ideological rivalry. The search is now on for institution-building, less confrontational approaches to global issues and more productive outlets for the utilization of human, material and technological resources. The decades of cold war had imposed the pre-eminence of political over economic considerations. With the cold war behind us there is a distinct trend towards the economics of international relations shaping its politics. *56*

In this context, the United Nations as an institution is uniquely placed to press for global solutions to global problems in the economic field, whether they pertain to aid, trade, technology transfer, commodity prices or debt relief. Collectively, the international community itself is better equipped today for dealing with the recurring man-made and natural disasters which demand compelling attention as the world comes to grips with the economic consequences of the end of the cold war. It is an opportune moment to evolve a set of global priorities in the short, intermediate and long terms. It is also a propitious time to accelerate the implementation of economic targets agreed upon in a less conducive political climate. *57*

Many hopeful areas of consensus are already visible to indicate an embryonic pattern of global partnership for development. Democratic structures, popular participation and observance of human rights are being widely recognized as sources of creativity in the process of development. Above all, a new vision of development is gradually emerging. Development is increasingly becoming a people-centred process whose ultimate goal *58*

must be the improvement of the human condition. Viewed thusly, development is a global goal, since the need to strike a balance between social equity and economic growth is near-universal— even more so now than earlier, because both the industrialized and the developing countries are faced with equally demanding tasks: poverty alleviation for many among the former and recovery from economic stagnation for many among the latter.

59 Most industrialized countries today need to sustain their levels of development and most developing countries need to attain higher levels of development. The ecological sustainability of development further strengthens the global linkages between the economic destinies of the developed and developing countries. As will be seen in paragraphs 75 to 79, the Earth Summit, held at Rio de Janeiro in June this year, showed that this planet simply cannot be demarcated into separate zones of immunity from and vulnerability to ecological decay. The Rio spirit provided a vision of development that can be realized only through a global partnership.

60 As in the past, the United Nations continues to be an important source for putting forward new approaches and promoting consensus. Many ideas originating at the United Nations, and considered too radical at the time, were eventually adopted as viable policy options by the international community. Examples include concessional lending through the International Development Association, "adjustment with a human face" of the United Nations Children's Fund, negative resource transfers and debt relief, where major conceptual advances were made at the United Nations. I believe that the current concerns for humanizing development will also become an accepted basis for infusing new life into the socio-economic sectors of the work of the Organization.

61 The United Nations still has a continuing obligation to put its weight behind those who are most seriously underprivileged

and to address the root causes of the economic decline which still characterizes the situation of many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America and is fast reaching crisis proportions in several of them. It is unacceptable that absolute poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and hopelessness should be the lot of one fifth of the world's population.

The economic situation in Africa is of particular concern. *62*
Most Africans are poorer today than they were when their countries achieved independence in the late 1950s and 1960s. The continent as a whole accounts for 32 out of the world's 47 least developed countries. Africa is the only low-income region in the world where the number of people living in poverty is, if the current trends continue, likely to increase by the year 2000. It is also the only region of the world whose total debt equals or exceeds its economic output. The freshly witnessed momentum for political pluralism in Africa can hardly withstand a continuing assault by desertification, famine and deprivation. Poverty is infertile soil for democracy. It breeds a search for survival that cannot be held back by national frontiers. The African countries need to become masters of their economic destiny in a more supportive global framework. In this respect, I was heartened by the fact that Member States responded positively to the call for help to combat the severe drought situation in Africa. The United Nations system must do its utmost to support the implementation of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, aimed at the accelerated transformation, integration, diversification and growth of African economies through the internalization of the development process and the enhancement of self-reliance.

In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the central *63*
challenge before the international community is to facilitate and assist in a smooth and peaceful management of change by countries of the region. The region needs support for the building and strengthening of democratic institutions, while meeting imme-

diate emergency needs. Provision of humanitarian assistance with the active involvement of the United Nations system will have to be followed in the months ahead by the critical tasks of reconstructing war-torn zones and resettling displaced persons. In the longer run, the success of economic reforms in these countries will depend greatly on fiscal and monetary stability, the reshaping of industrial structures and the establishment of legal and economic institutions capable of coping with the market economy so that investment and capital formation can take place.

A. AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

64 Political progress and economic development are inseparable: both are equally important and must be pursued simultaneously. Political stability is needed to develop effective economic policies, but when economic conditions deteriorate too much, as events not only in developing countries but also in Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States have shown, divisive political strife may take root.

65 The Charter of the United Nations assigns to the Organization the major responsibility of promoting social and economic development, and the various agencies of the United Nations system do indeed make great contributions towards this end.

66 It is essential that the United Nations continue to serve as a forum for the analysis and conceptual formulation of socio-economic problems of particular concern to the developing countries and those in transition to more open economic and political systems. It is clear that the Organization's responsibilities and commitments in the political and security area should not be carried out at the expense of its responsibilities in the development field, and neither should be subordinated to the other. It is

essential that they be pursued in an integrated, mutually supporting way.

There has never been a more evident need for an integrated approach to: 67

(*a*) The objectives of peace, democracy and human rights, and the requirements of development;

(*b*) The needs of development and the protection of the environment;

(*c*) The economic as well as the social dimensions of development;

(*d*) The interrelationships among trade, finance, investment and technology;

(*e*) The meeting of immediate needs for emergency and humanitarian assistance and setting the conditions for long-term development.

The United Nations is the only institution capable of comprehensively addressing global problems in their political, humanitarian and socio-economic dimensions. In the new climate of international relations, we must not miss the opportunity to develop the necessary international consensus and policy instruments—and also to adapt United Nations structures and interactions within the United Nations system—to promote this integrated approach. We must have the necessary vision and political will. 68

The prospects for achieving these objectives will, of course, be brighter in a more robust global economy. In this respect, the past year has not been encouraging. The success stories in some parts of the world notwithstanding, world output as a whole declined in 1991 and there were too few signs of recovery in 1992. 69

In assisting the global economy back onto the path of strong recovery, the United Nations is gradually considering a more integrated approach towards development. Conceptually, such an approach recognizes linkages between the economic and social 70

dimensions of development. Functionally, it implies mutual feedback among the trade, finance, investment and technology sectors. The aim here should be to ensure that the policy advice and the services which the Organization as a whole provides to Governments is coherent and that target-bound results replace proliferation of activity.

71 The work of the United Nations should be rooted in sound analysis and understanding of development and global trends—relying on the fact-finding capabilities of the United Nations system. It should possess an "early warning" function, able to detect threats to security and well-being from energy crises to the burden of debt, from the risk of famine to the spread of disease.

72 Since taking office, I have participated in two major United Nations conferences in the economic and social development field: the eighth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Cartagena in February 1992, and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development—the Earth Summit—held at Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. In July 1992, I addressed the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council. These gatherings have already shown a new spirit of vitality and a readiness to break fresh ground in development cooperation.

The eighth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

73 At the eighth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, participating Governments called on countries at all stages of development to create a new partnership for development based on the recognition of sovereign equality, mutual interest and shared responsibilities. Central to this partnership is the need for strengthened multilateral cooperation to help translate the broad commitments undertaken by countries into sustained growth in the world economy and a reactivation

of development throughout the developing world. I am convinced that it is only through such a partnership that the global community can erase the scourge of poverty and deprivation, provide international support for national reform programmes, encourage efficient use of precious global resources, and address economic and social problems through coherent and mutually reinforcing policies. The eighth session of the Conference was also remarkable for the willingness shown on all sides to use the occasion of the Conference to rethink the directions of the work of the organization and to start with a fresh agenda.

74 At the global level, the interrelationships between trade and development are the central focus of the contribution of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. In the present economic context, a greater appreciation of the linkages between trade, foreign investment and the globalization of economic activities and corporate operations is critical. The United Nations role in this respect and its contribution to development and poverty alleviation will be strengthened as a result of the reoriented work programme of the Conference stemming from its eighth session.

United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

75 The Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro in June marked an important milestone in awakening the world to the need for a development process that does not jeopardize future generations.

76 The Rio Conference achieved consensus in more than one area: first, it secured a set of agreements between Governments which mark a significant advance in international cooperation on development and environment issues. Second, it marshalled political commitment to these arrangements at the highest level and placed the issue of sustainable development at the heart of the international agenda. Third, it opened new paths for communication and cooperation between official and non-official or-

ganizations working towards developmental and environmental goals. Fourth, it led to an enormous increase in public awareness of the issues that were tackled in the process—an awareness that ought to facilitate the adoption of policies and the allocation of additional resources to fulfil the task.

77 A comprehensive and far-reaching programme for sustainable development is Agenda 21, which constitutes the centrepiece of international cooperation and coordination activities within the United Nations system for many years to come. Its role in galvanizing international cooperation will be crucial. Building on the spirit of Rio, the implementation of Agenda 21 must be seen as an investment in our future. I call on the donor community to ensure a flow of new resources which will serve the common interests of the whole world.

78 The adoption of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which launches a process of cooperation aimed at keeping greenhouse gases in the atmosphere within safe limits, was a major achievement. I urge Governments to ratify it as soon as possible.

79 The establishment of a high-level Commission on Sustainable Development in follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development will be crucial for achieving the vital environmental and developmental goals outlined in Agenda 21.

Environment Programme

80 This year marked the culmination of a number of major efforts by the United Nations Environment Programme: the strengthening of its Earthwatch Programme; the publication of the State of the Environment 1972-1992; the completion of a comprehensive assessment of desertification; and the entry into force of provisions strengthening the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. The United Nations Environment Programme made important contributions to the entire

preparatory process for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and in particular towards the negotiation of the Convention on Biological Diversity, which was adopted at Rio.

The 1992 substantive session of the Economic and Social Council

81 New approaches to the role of the United Nations system in enhancing international cooperation for development were discussed at the July meeting of the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council. I was pleased that members of the Council viewed the objectives of securing peace, development and justice as indivisible and equally essential. They also reiterated that international development cooperation and the eradication of poverty are inextricably linked with the preservation of peace. The two must be pursued with equal vigour.

82 The Economic and Social Council has adopted significant improvements in its methods of work, including a high-level policy segment and the identification of "coordination" and "operational activities" as the main areas of concentration. I have already recommended that the Security Council invite a reinvigorated and restructured Economic and Social Council to provide reports, in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter of the United Nations, on those economic and social developments that may, unless mitigated, threaten international peace and security. I urge Governments to pursue this recommendation.

83 During the high-level segment, I also suggested that the Economic and Social Council might introduce a flexible high-level inter-sessional mechanism in order to facilitate a timely response to evolving socio-economic realities. Through such a mechanism, the Council would, in a continuing dialogue with the organizations of the system, build and expand agreement on common ends and objectives and adapt the economic and social policy agendas to changing requirements. In the framework of

an integrated approach to the objectives of the United Nations, such a mechanism would enable the Council to play a central monitoring and surveillance role within the United Nations. I will urge member States represented in the high-level inter-sessional mechanism to send experts and representatives of stature, who have access to top decision makers and can speak for their Governments on issues of global concern.

84 I fully share the emphasis placed by the Council on the need for enhanced inter-agency cooperation and, in that context, a closer and improved relationship between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. Through such a closer relationship the United Nations would bring to bear its overall global responsibilities in the political, humanitarian and socio-economic spheres on the work and the policies of the Bretton Woods institutions. They in turn would lend their analytical and financial support to the achievement of the overall United Nations objectives.

85 The members of the Council expressed concern about levels of official development assistance. I fully share these concerns. There is also a need to take a critical look at its modalities; it is imperative that this assistance be used for fully productive purposes. In recent years, less than one tenth of official development assistance was directed to programmes in the critical human development areas, such as basic education, primary health care, supply of safe water, family planning and nutrition.

B. ACTION UNDERTAKEN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Global economic cooperation

86 Data gathering and analysis, the review of global economic trends and policies and the provision of analytical support to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly in the economic and social field are key elements of the continuing functions of the Secretariat, as is the substantive support re-

quired by these organs and by the Secretary-General in the exercise of overview functions in relation to the work of the United Nations system as a whole. Both the research and the technical cooperation activities undertaken by the Secretariat in New York have increased over the years and have expanded to cover a growing number of areas—science and technology, natural resources, energy, the environment, the role of transnational corporations, public administration and economic management. These activities were consolidated, in the first phase of the reorganization to which I have referred in the second section of this report, in a single Department of Economic and Social Development at Headquarters.

Regional cooperation

87 The United Nations regional commissions have assumed an ever greater role in support of Member States in their respective regions over the years. In April 1992, I addressed the Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva and the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific at Beijing. In July, I appointed a new Executive Secretary for the Economic Commission for Africa. I will chair the Executive Secretaries Meeting to be held at Addis Ababa in December 1992, at which representatives of the regional commissions will come together. At a time when regional cooperation holds, in many different ways, the key not only to conflict resolution but also to economic and social progress, these regional entities represent more than ever an important asset for the Organization.

88 The capacity of each region to harness its collective strength with respect to trade, investment and technological opportunity will undoubtedly be increasingly essential to their development. The commissions play a major role in this process. To make better use of their potential for the benefit of both their respective constituencies and the Organization as a whole will

be one of my principal objectives in the forthcoming phases of the restructuring of the economic and social sectors.

Social development

89 Traditionally, United Nations social development activities have concentrated primarily on the most vulnerable groups. In the emerging trend to view the social and economic dimensions of development in a more integrated way, the Organization is also beginning to take a closer look at specific phenomena affecting social cohesion. Once again there are much larger areas of mutually shared concerns among both the developed and the developing countries than have been hitherto recognized. The degrees of social cohesion and the levels of development do not necessarily coincide.

90 The demographic trends in some developed countries indicate that, in the future, a larger number of dependent people is likely to have to be supported by a smaller workforce. Among the developing countries, the very efforts at modernization are tugging at the traditions and institutions which held the social fabric together. As societies at different levels of development cope with increasing pressures on basic social structures, like the family unit, their exposure to the media becomes an additional factor for adaptation. Issues of cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic diversity are so closely related today to the prospects of political stability and economic advancement that the involvement of the United Nations in the area of social development is acquiring a qualitatively different nature.

91 A particular emphasis in the Organization's work over the past year has been given to promoting the full participation of women in the development process by helping devise policies that facilitate their access to the basic tools of production, credit and technology and enable them to share in the decision-making process. Efforts have been made to address the problems of discrimination and poverty affecting both rural and urban women,

and to bridge the gap between equality *de jure* and *de facto* by increasing the awareness of women's legal rights. Considerable progress has been registered in developing a draft declaration on the issue of violence against women. Preparations are already under way for the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held at Beijing at 1995 to review progress made in the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women.

92 The integration of vulnerable groups into the mainstream of development efforts is a valid goal in itself, but it also serves as a guarantee of social peace and political stability. The promotion of respect for minority rights and the designation of 1993 as the International Year of the World's Indigenous People will create the necessary impetus to address their concerns. In addition, the United Nations is fostering awareness in developed and developing countries of the need to integrate the elderly and persons with disabilities into a productive social life.

93 One major development in the last year has been the worldwide mobilization of support for the implementation of the commitments adopted by the World Summit for Children. The Declaration endorsed by the Summit, which has now been signed by some 140 Heads of State or Government, sets goals through which we can save the lives of some 50 million children by the decade's end and improve the lives of millions more. Over 130 countries have prepared or are in the process of developing National Programmes of Action detailing their strategies to achieve these goals. The United Nations Children's Fund is mobilizing analytical and operational capacity from a wide range of United Nations organizations in support of these efforts, which are focused on a broad range of issues, including health, basic education, nutrition, water and sanitation and the rights of women and children. Non-governmental organizations and the private sector have also been actively involved.

Operational activities

94 Operational activities constitute the practical means by which the mandates of the United Nations in the economic and social fields are put into action. I am committed to using the operational capabilities of the Organization to the fullest to transform into reality our vision of equitable and sustainable development.

95 The basic strengths of the United Nations in the economic and social field lie in its neutrality, impartiality and cultural sensitivity. The focus of development assistance must be continuously adjusted to changes in the world in which it operates. The extensive field network of the United Nations, with offices in the majority of developing countries, should enable the Organization to respond flexibly and rapidly to changing national priorities. The United Nations Development Programme is working across all sectors to assist developing countries in strengthening national capacities for managing all phases of the development process from formulation, design and planning of policies and programming to execution and implementation.

96 The United Nations is increasingly involved in helping to continue the process of democratization and providing technical assistance for the electoral process in a number of countries. I am particularly pleased to respond to the requests for support in this process that I am receiving from Governments. In 1992, the United Nations has provided technical assistance for elections in Albania, the Congo, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guyana, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Rwanda and Togo, and most notably in Angola. The United Nations is assisting as well in preparations for referendums planned for Eritrea and Western Sahara.

97 Population growth in developing countries is a source of deep and justified concern. Numerous United Nations agencies under the aegis of the United Nations Population Fund are engaged in the promotion of family planning and other population

policies. The collaborative work of the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organization and the United Nations Population Fund in maternal and child health care and family planning in support of national population frameworks is promising. The International Conference on Population and Development to be held in 1994 will be an important occasion to review progress made in this critical area.

98 The symbiosis between drugs and many social and political ills is evident. In addition, the plowing back of vast proceeds from illicit drug trafficking into international money markets is having increasingly destabilizing consequences for national economies. The question of drug control requires coordinated international effort and, indeed, international legislation. The United Nations International Drug Control Programme encourages Governments to consider drug problems in their totality and also in relation to other social, economic and developmental issues. It provides Governments with guidance and technical cooperation regarding all aspects of drug control, income substitution, law enforcement, treatment and rehabilitation, legislative and institutional reform at the national, subregional and regional levels. The connection between drug trafficking and crime and approaches to crime prevention and criminal justice are reflected in a strengthened United Nations crime programme.

99 The recent increase in emergencies has served to highlight the important contribution of the World Food Programme in providing assistance to affected populations. Over the last two years, the Programme has increased its resources by 50 per cent and is moving increasingly towards integrating food aid with national development strategies. In addition to the provision of food, its logistical support has become an indispensable part of the international response to large-scale relief operations. It is

coordinating, within the United Nations system, the transport and logistic efforts for the drought emergency in southern Africa.

Human rights and development

100 The protection of vulnerable groups is only one aspect of the commitment of the United Nations to human rights in general. Human rights are an essential component of sustainable development. Sustainable development is not possible without respect for human rights. Human rights are meaningless in an environment of poverty and deprivation. The Charter of the United Nations places the promotion of human rights as one of our priority objectives, along with promoting development and preserving international peace and security. Achievements to date include the development of a significant body of international standards of universal applicability based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two International Human Rights Covenants, as well as a wide-ranging system supervising the compliance by States with their international human rights obligations. Particularly significant has been the work of the Centre for Human Rights at Geneva.

101 However, if standards and procedures exist for normal situations, the United Nations has not been able to act effectively to bring to an end massive human rights violations. Faced with the barbaric conduct which fills the news media today, the United Nations cannot stand idle or indifferent. The long-term credibility of our Organization as a whole will depend upon the success of our response to this challenge. I suggest that we explore ways of empowering the Secretary-General and expert human rights bodies to bring massive violations of human rights to the attention of the Security Council together with recommendations for action.

102 Preventing violations before they occur is also of primary importance. The United Nations must be able to identify situations which could degenerate into violations and to take pre-

ventive measures. For example, we are studying those elements which have in the past helped to overcome situations of tension related to minorities. Our impartial intervention based on widely accepted standards could dissipate misunderstandings and help build a framework for living together. An impressive quantity of information on human rights is already available within the United Nations system, submitted by Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals to committees, commissions, the Secretary-General or various other bodies. The challenge is now to bring this information together in a focused way so as to better understand complex situations and thus be in a position to suggest appropriate action. The World Conference on Human Rights to be held at Vienna in 1993 will be important in this regard.

103 Our long-term objective must be to achieve respect for human rights in every country. Building human rights institutions and promoting the human rights culture necessary for the functioning of such institutions is crucial here in connection with the transition of many countries to democracy. In the recent past, we have learned of the importance of strengthening respect for the rule of law and human rights in general through training, education, information and furnishing of expert advice. Many aspects of country programmes in this area could be carried out within the broader development programmes of United Nations agencies or bilateral donors. At the same time, the manifestations of concern for human rights and democracy must go hand in hand with action on such issues as debt, terms of trade and access to development assistance.

104 In our efforts to build a culture of human rights, we must not forget the importance of human rights workers and non-governmental organizations, nor the courage shown by many who risk their lives and security for the rights of others. Those who work in the field understand that development provides the foundation for human rights advances, and that, equally, human rights

are the key which unlocks the creative energies of people so central to economic progress.

C. AN AGENDA FOR DEVELOPMENT

105 An integrated approach to this wide range of issues, in sum an agenda for development, can only be promoted through a stronger United Nations. It has to become:

(*a*) An organization which views its objectives in respect of economic and social cooperation and development with the same sense of responsibility and urgency as its commitments in the political and security area;

(*b*) An organization where the intergovernmental bodies promote policy coherence, and where the Economic and Social Council plays the central role envisaged for it in the Charter of the United Nations;

(*c*) An organization which takes full advantage of the central coordinating capacity available to it on economic, social and humanitarian issues, and of the inter-sectoral capabilities at its disposal in the regional commissions and in the various United Nations programmes and organs;

(*d*) An organization whose extensive operational capabilities—available through the United Nations Development Programme, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations Population Fund—are fully supportive of its policy objectives, and where economic and social research and policy analysis, operational activities, humanitarian assistance and the promotion of human rights support and reinforce each other.

106 The further phases of the reorganization of United Nations Secretariat structures in the economic and social field will be geared to these objectives.

107 At the level of the United Nations system, my goal is not

only to strengthen the coordination of the contributions which the various organizations of the system are in a position to make, it is also—and perhaps more importantly—to ensure that the overall capacities of the system for research and policy analysis, finance for development and technical assistance are mobilized in a mutually reinforcing, concerted way.

108 I warmly welcome the proposal to convene a world summit for social development in 1995, which has now been endorsed by the Economic and Social Council. Consultations on the preparatory process have already begun. I am confident that the summit would provide leadership at the highest level for a shared world-wide commitment to put people at the centre of development and international cooperation. It would also surely act as a source of inspiration for new ideas and proposals towards the development of a more comprehensive approach to actions of the United Nations system in the social sphere.

109 Respect for human rights is clearly important in order to maintain international peace and security and to achieve social and economic development. In turn, without development, long-term enjoyment of human rights and democracy will prove illusory, and war, of course, is the antithesis of both. Good governance, democracy, participation, an independent judiciary, the rule of law and civil peace create conditions necessary to economic progress. Increasingly, each area of our Organization sees the relevance of human rights in its own objectives and programmes. Next year, the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights will bring together world leaders at the highest level. We look to this Conference to reaffirm the need for the full implementation of economic, social and cultural rights, together with civil and political rights, and to reaffirm the link between development and the enjoyment of all human rights.

IV. Peace endeavours

A. AN OVERVIEW OF UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES

110 WITH the collective security role of the United Nations impaired in the post–Second World War era by the deep divisions between the two major nuclear nations, the United Nations created a new procedure to advance the cause of peace. "Peace-keeping" entered the international vocabulary with a fairly specific meaning: the employment of troops under United Nations command in non-violent operations, with the consent of parties to a conflict, for the purpose of maintaining stability in numerous areas of tension around the world.

111 The cold war confronted the international community with a singular threat to security; now, a widely varying array of resentments, ambitions, rivalries and hatreds masked for decades have come to the fore to threaten international harmony and shared purpose.

112 The nature of peace-keeping operations has evolved rapidly in recent years. The established principles and practices of peace-keeping have responded flexibly to new demands. The most notable feature of change in dealing with regional conflicts is that peace-keeping is no longer solely a military function. It is now almost always the case that operations undertaken by the United Nations must include civilian police, electoral personnel, human rights experts, information specialists and a significant number of political advisory staff. In Asia, Europe, Africa and in the Western Hemisphere new forms of conflict require a comprehensive approach.

113 Just as today no two conflicts are the same, so the design of

cooperation and the division of labour in the service of peace, stability and renewal after conflict must be approached with flexibility and creativity adapted to each particular situation. In this regard, regional arrangements and agencies have new contributions to make.

114 Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations envisages a clear role for regional arrangements and agencies as part of a structure for coping with international peace and security issues. In the past, regional arrangements were created because of the absence of a universal system for collective security; thus, their activities often worked at cross-purposes with the sense of solidarity required for the effectiveness of the world Organization. The cold war crippled the proper use of Chapter VIII and, indeed, in that era regional arrangements worked on occasion against resolving disputes in the manner foreseen by the Charter. But in the post-cold-war period, regional organizations can play a crucial role if their activities are undertaken in a manner consistent with the principles of Chapter VIII.

115 This is a critical moment to advance this concept and fulfil this opportunity. In many of the instances in which the United Nations has been active during 1992, regional organizations have played a part, particularly on the peacemaking side. My aim is to see that in any new division of labour, the United Nations retains its primacy in the maintenance of international peace and security, while its burden is lightened and its mission reinforced and underlined by the active involvement of appropriate regional arrangements and agencies. The exact modalities of this division of labour remain to be worked out, as regional organizations, no less than the United Nations itself, redefine their missions in the post-cold-war period.

116 The range of conflict we see today is immense. To provide a sense of this, the following review, based on events as of the end of August, surveys most, but not all, peace operations under way at present as represented on the map at the end of this sec-

tion (figure 6). The United Nations attaches equal importance to all these conflicts; when it comes to death and misery, no one situation takes priority over another.

Cyprus

117 The intensive efforts over the past year to reach agreement on the set of ideas on an overall framework agreement on Cyprus culminated in five weeks of meetings under my auspices with the leaders of the two communities. While these talks did not achieve the goal that one could have expected, a set of ideas has now been sufficiently developed to enable the two sides to reach an overall agreement. I share the Security Council's expectation, reflected in its resolution 774 (1992), that when the talks resume on 26 October 1992, the two leaders will pursue direct and uninterrupted negotiations to reach an agreement.

Ethiopia and Eritrea

118 In order to promote democracy, I have been actively engaged in efforts to provide the Government of Ethiopia with assistance in the organization of regional elections. In the same vein, and as part of transitional assistance, I have been actively engaged in consultations aiming at the provision of United Nations assistance for the conduct of the planned referendum in Eritrea. A technical team visited Eritrea in August to collect information required for the involvement of the United Nations in the referendum process. Shortly, I will assign two officers to Asmara to assist in the initial preparations and I shall report to the General Assembly in order to obtain a mandate for further action.

Haiti

119 Following the overthrow of President Aristide in September 1991, the Organization of American States has taken the lead in restoring democracy in Haiti. The United Nations has supported the Organization of American States in this regard, and my man-

date, by General Assembly resolution 46/7, has been to provide the Secretary-General of that Organization with the support he might seek. I accepted his proposal to include a representative of the Secretary-General in a high-level mission of the Organization of American States to Haiti, which took place from 18 to 21 August. Nothing that the mission heard in Haiti during its visit indicates that the parties are closer to agreement than before. The Secretary-General of the Organization of American States has proposed to deploy to Haiti a first group of observers. In my view, the deployment of a mission, adequately staffed, with a well-defined mandate and the ability to visit the entire country, could play a useful role. I intend to continue to cooperate with the Organization of American States and to stand ready to help in any other way to solve the Haitian crisis.

Liberia

120 My representatives and I have been in regular contact with the leadership of the Economic Community of West African States and with other leaders in the region. In this connection, I support the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States towards a peaceful settlement of the Liberian situation. At its 15th session, held at Dakar from 27 to 29 July 1992, the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States invited the United Nations to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process. Between May and July 1992, I sent two consultants to Liberia to evaluate the availability of population data and the situation of constituency maps and to provide support to the Electoral Commission of Liberia. I am continuing with my endeavours to assist in the organization and conduct of the planned election.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

121 At the request of the Security Council, I have been endeavouring to persuade the Government of the Socialist People's Libyan

Arab Jamahiriya to comply with resolutions for the purpose of establishing responsibility for the terrorist acts against flights Pan Am 103 and UTA 772, and contributing to the elimination of international terrorism. In the context of Security Council resolution 731 (1992), I have dispatched six United Nations missions to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya: on 26 January, 24 February, 27 February, 7 April, 11 May and 20 August. On each occasion, my envoy carried a letter from me to Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. These missions so far have not produced a full and effective response to the Council requests. This effort to achieve compliance with the resolutions of the Council will continue.

Middle East

Developments of the past year have had stark consequences for *122*
the Palestinian people, including the 2.6 million refugees served by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. The aftermath of the Gulf crisis has continued to cause hardship for tens of thousands of Palestinians who lost jobs and employment opportunities in Kuwait and other Arab Gulf States. Their influx into camps and towns in Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon and the occupied territories has further tightened the already overstretched financial resources of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

New challenges are arising from the more positive devel- *123*
opments of the past year in the Middle East, namely, the start of substantive discussions between Israel, its Arab neighbours and the Palestinians over the framework of a peace settlement. The situation calls for a spirit of compromise and a mutual building of confidence.

Republic of Moldova

The conflict which erupted between the Dniester region's sepa- *124*

ratists and the Government has been at the centre of the peaceful settlement efforts of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Concerned about the escalation of violence, I sent a fact-finding mission to the area at the end of June. On 21 July, an agreement was signed by the Moldovan and Russian presidents, resulting in the consolidation of a cease-fire monitored by a trilateral peace-keeping force. Following the Republic of Moldova's request for a United Nations observer mission, I sent the fact-finding mission back to the Republic of Moldova from 25 to 29 August. The mission noted that the situation in the Republic of Moldova had greatly improved; the escalation of violence has been reversed; and the parties to the conflict have been cooperating in the implementation of most of the provisions of the 21 July Agreement, including such mechanisms as the trilateral peace-keeping force. However, the prevailing conditions remain fragile and could rapidly deteriorate if negotiations towards an overall settlement do not progress more quickly.

Mozambique

125 At the invitation of the Government of Mozambique, issued in June, the United Nations is participating as an observer in the Italian-mediated talks between the Government and Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, joining France, Portugal, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. The talks have been going on in Rome since 1990, and the recent declaration by the two parties establishing an October deadline for the cease-fire augurs well for the peace process. I have made it clear that the United Nations stands ready to support the envisaged electoral process as necessary, including the provision of electoral specialists and other relevant assistance. An electoral mission left for Mozambique on 4 September; it was followed by a technical team on 6 September. The Organization's efforts with Mozambique will be

important in the region as a whole and the measures required must be approached as a comprehensive package.

Nagorno-Karabakh

126 The four-and-a-half-year-long conflict in and around Nagorno-Karabakh has left some 3,000 dead and over half a million refugees and displaced persons. Concern over the deteriorating situation and the threat to regional peace and security led to two United Nations fact-finding missions being sent to the area, from 16 to 21 March and from 21 to 28 May, in support of the efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to achieve a peaceful settlement. A third mission was dispatched from 4 to 10 July to investigate Azerbaijani claims that Armenia had used chemical weapons, but found no evidence to that effect. Preliminary peace talks in Rome, sponsored by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, were attended by a United Nations observer to look at arrangements for a cease-fire.

South Africa

127 Following the Boipatong massacre in June, I discussed the situation in South Africa with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, R. F. Botha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Mr. Nelson Mandela, respectively. During the course of my official visit at the end of June to Abuja, Nigeria, and my attendance at the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, held at Dakar, Senegal, I continued talks with these leaders and, in addition, with the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Mr. Clarence Makwetu. I urged them to resume negotiations and reported on my discussions to the Security Council.

128 On 16 July 1992, after hearing statements by the principal representatives of the above-mentioned parties, all of whom were in attendance, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 765 (1992), which invited the Secretary-General to

appoint a Special Representative. I named Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, who visited South Africa immediately after the adoption of the resolution. Also, at the request of the parties, 10 United Nations observers witnessed mass action during the week commencing 3 August 1992. The United Nations observers worked in close cooperation with the National Peace Secretariat during that week to observe mass mobilization, demonstrations and political rallies.

129 Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 772 (1992) on 17 August 1992, 50 United Nations observers have been deployed in order to address effectively the areas of concern noted in my report of 7 August 1992, in coordination with the structures set up by the National Peace Accord. The international community must continue to assist the people of South Africa as a whole in their effort to bring an effective end to the violence and create conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Western Sahara

130 In my efforts to reactivate the implementation of the settlement plan, I have tried to overcome the obstacles to the holding of a referendum. The differences over the criteria for eligibility to vote persist. My Special Representative has continued efforts to break the deadlock in which the settlement plan has found itself since the beginning of this year. Since my report on the subject of 20 August 1992, my special representative has started negotiations with the two parties concerned in order to reach an agreement on the interpretation of the criteria relating to voter eligibility. The outcome of these negotiations will be reported to the Security Council.

B. AN ANALYSIS OF FIVE CONFLICTS

131 As the preceding list indicates, involvement by the United Na-

tions has taken many forms, depending both on the nature of the situation itself and on the role which the United Nations has been called upon to perform. We have dispatched fact-finding missions and special representatives; observer teams have been deployed under United Nations auspices; there have been peace-keeping operations involving substantial numbers of United Nations troops and police; major humanitarian operations, sometimes involving millions of refugees and displaced persons, have been organized; and an active role in peace-building has brought involvement by the United Nations in the establishment of electoral machinery and participatory processes and even, in some cases, in providing advice and assistance on the writing of constitutions. The response has involved many agencies and has been multi-disciplinary. The multiplicity of responses by the United Nations has therefore been as remarkable as the number and complexity of the situations with which we have been asked to deal.

To illustrate more fully the current range of challenges to *132*
United Nations peace operations, five conflicts warrant analysis: Cambodia, Yugoslavia, Somalia, Angola and El Salvador. These undertakings were all initiated, or have witnessed major developments, since I took office. All involve non-State parties whose cooperation is crucial for success. Each has a special character, yet all, in one way or another, require a comprehensive approach to peace-keeping or peace-building. The integrated approach described in section III of the present report applies not only to structural and developmental matters but to peace and security issues as well. In Asia, in Europe, in Africa and in the Western Hemisphere, new forms of conflict are giving rise to new forms of peace operations. The operations in Cambodia, Angola, Somalia, El Salvador and the former Yugoslavia, which I wish to highlight in this section, epitomize, in my view, the Organization's role in peace-keeping in the broader sense in which it now is coming to be understood.

133 Increasingly, United Nations peace-keeping forces are being established in situations where the success of the operation depends on the cooperation of non-governmental entities or irregular groups. This presents the Organization with a whole new set of problems, such as the lack of a unified or single chain of command, and difficulty in identifying the real source of authority and in establishing direct dialogue with the real as opposed to the formal leadership of these movements, factors which in turn may result in agreements not being honoured at lower levels. Frequently, these entities or groups, lacking international recognition, encounter obstacles in obtaining participation in peace conferences or intergovernmental consultations and have thus not always been parties to the political agreements underpinning the establishment of a peace-keeping force. It is also not uncommon for the leadership of these groups to be located in geographically remote areas lacking an established liaison with the United Nations Force Commander. Their very nature may lead them in turn to a generally mistrustful view of the outside world and of the intergovernmental community in particular, and to their being less susceptible to outside influence, while their often clandestine status sometimes makes it all the more difficult to obtain, where the need arises, reliable information about the locations, number of combatants or inventories of weapons.

Cambodia

134 As a result of the Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement, concluded at the Paris Conference of October 1991, the United Nations has undertaken in Cambodia one of the most ambitious and complex peace-keeping operations of its history. The mandate entrusted to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and its estimated cost, if not its size, are indeed unprecedented. On the military side, the operation involves performing the difficult tasks of supervision, monitoring

and verification of the cease-fire; the withdrawal of foreign troops; and the regrouping, cantonment, disarming and subsequent demobilization of the armed forces of the four Cambodian factions. On the civilian side, it includes innovative responsibilities such as the control and supervision of the activities of the existing administrative structures and police forces, as well as measures to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the investigation and redress of human rights violations.

135 The United Nations has also been given, for the first time, the responsibility of organizing and conducting free and fair elections, which are scheduled to take place in late April or early May 1993. The repatriation of some 360,000 refugees and displaced persons is a critical element of the overall settlement and is being carried out as an integral part of the operation, with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees acting as the lead agency. In addition, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia is responsible for the coordination of a major programme of rehabilitation assistance launched during my visit to Phnom Penh last April. In other words, the United Nations is faced with the daunting task of nurturing national reconciliation, fostering the democratic process and building peace and stability in a country ravaged by two decades of war.

136 Since the establishment of the operation by the Security Council on 28 February 1992, over 18,000 United Nations military and civilian personnel have been deployed in the country. The presence of the United Nations is now felt in all the provinces and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia has begun to carry out the various aspects of its wide-ranging mandate. It is worth noting, in this connection, that, as of the end of August, more than 100,000 refugees and displaced persons had been successfully repatriated.

137 The progress of the operation has, however, been hampered

by the refusal of one of the Cambodian parties to implement the second phase of the cease-fire, under which the armed forces of all the factions must be regrouped, cantoned and disarmed. After careful consideration of the situation, I instructed my Special Representative to initiate Phase II on schedule on 13 June, so as to maintain the momentum of the operation. I took this decision with the conviction that the international community cannot allow the impressive diplomatic efforts, and the vast human and material resources it has devoted to the pursuit of peace and reconstruction in Cambodia, to be negated by the unwillingness of one party to honour its obligations. At the end of July, the Security Council took a clear position on the matter and reiterated the firm commitment of the international community to the full implementation of the Paris Agreements.

138 Some 50,000 troops belonging to three of the Cambodian factions have now been regrouped and cantoned under the supervision of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. Various initiatives have been taken by my Special Representative and member countries of the Paris Conference, with a view to convincing the fourth Cambodian party to join the second phase of the cease-fire and extend the necessary cooperation to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia.

139 It is my earnest hope that these efforts will soon reach fruition, for time is now of the essence. We are indeed reaching the stage where any further delay in the implementation of the second phase of the cease-fire would seriously impair the ability of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia to carry out its mandate in accordance with the timetable set by the Security Council and would jeopardize the whole peace process. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia will continue to work closely with the parties and the Supreme National Council of Cambodia to prevent such a predicament. The Cambodian people have endured enough suffering. They must be given the opportunity to determine freely their own political

destiny and to enjoy the peace, stability and well-being to which they have aspired for so long.

The former Yugoslavia

The upheaval in the former Yugoslavia illustrates how the closing of the cold war opened a Pandora's box of causes and conflicts that had been kept down by the ideological struggle of that era. Old disputes, ambitions and hatreds have burst forth. In the years just past, such activities would have been regarded as points of loss or gain in the calculations of the bipolar Powers. Without the cold-war structure to deal with them, it is left to us to provide the approaches and ultimately the answers. Territories of the former Yugoslavia, now the theatre of military operations, have recently been recognized by the international community and have taken their place in the General Assembly of the United Nations as Member States. *140*

This is, then, a conflict with an international dimension. The future shape and security of one or more Member States—indeed their very existence—has come under threat. The unfolding of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is also being watched closely by others who, in similar conditions of instability and new confrontations, could resort to war and destruction rather than choose the road of negotiation and dialogue. They must be led to understand and accept that the only route for change is one that is legal, peaceful and contributes to a structure of international peace and security. *141*

In response to this crisis, the United Nations has undertaken an intensive and extensive array of actions. The Security Council has expressed itself through a series of resolutions. My personal envoy, Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, has undertaken missions on behalf of the international community's effort to stop the fighting and find a peaceful solution. The United Nations Protection Force has been established and steps have been taken to aid refugees, deliver relief supplies to people afflicted by the *142*

fighting and provide help for the huge number of persons displaced by this conflict.

143 It must be realized that the expectations of the international community—which has been shocked by the horror of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina—continue to exceed the resources and capacity of the United Nations Protection Force. Under these circumstances, a wider international effort in support of the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations is warranted.

144 A Conference on the former Yugoslavia was held on 26 and 27 August in London under the co-chairmanship of Prime Minister John Major, in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, and myself. The purpose of the Conference is to broaden and intensify the search for a solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia in all its aspects. The decisions taken at the London Conference have embodied a framework within which a comprehensive settlement may be achieved through continuous and uninterrupted effort. The Conference established a Steering Committee, and appointed as co-chairmen Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen; they will direct the six working groups and prepare the basis for a general settlement. An effective mechanism has thus been provided for dealing with the problem in all its aspects. It is my earnest hope that the political will evident at London translates itself in the future into tangible actions.

Somalia

145 Somalia poses a particularly difficult challenge to the United Nations. A means must be found of responding to the urgent and overwhelming needs of a population increasingly desperate in the face of widespread hunger, the absence of national administration, almost complete destruction of basic infrastructure and acute insecurity.

146 As in the former Yugoslavia, United Nations personnel in

Somalia face the problem of having to deal with irregular forces and non-governmental groups. The breakdown of central authority has brought virtually the entire population of Somalia, some 6 million people, into the conflict in one way or another. A vicious circle of insecurity and hunger is at work in Somalia. Lack of security prevents the delivery of food, while food shortages contribute significantly to the level of violence and insecurity. Meanwhile, refugees from the senseless killing and famine have exported the problem to neighbouring states. There again, our humanitarian action is necessary to save lives and preserve the resources of Somalia's neighbours.

147 The effort to break this circle brings together a comprehensive programme of action covering humanitarian relief, the consolidation of cease-fires, the reduction of organized and unorganized violence, and national reconciliation. Thus, action must be comprehensive and multifaceted. There will need to be measures to demobilize regular and irregular forces and to establish law and order, initially on a local basis. And equal consideration must be given to re-integrating the militia forces into civil society. A wide range of supporting intervention will be required to help re-establish local police forces: training, uniforms, communications and other equipment as well as advisory services. The programme of action will also have to include educational and vocational training programmes to provide people eventually with alternatives to armed action for their survival.

148 In short, the task involves nothing less than the reconstruction of an entire society and nation. For this task, it is necessary to broaden the scope of United Nations military involvement beyond the limited deployment, restricted to Mogadishu, which was previously considered sufficient. For the same purpose, the United Nations is working with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference on arrangements for convening a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia.

Angola

149 The peace process in Angola remains one of the most remarkable and challenging developments in Africa. For three decades, the United Nations has been deeply committed to the quest for peace and to social development in Angola, and the process has now entered its most critical phase. It has been over a year since the end of the war and multi-party elections are scheduled to take place at the end of September. We have been providing the services of the United Nations peace-keeping forces and this year have also begun to assist in the electoral process in an endeavour to help bring about a permanent solution. The registration of eligible voters, despite the logistical difficulties, was a remarkable achievement.

150 I appointed a Special Representative in February 1992 and, with the recent expansion by the Security Council of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, more than 500 United Nations observers—electoral, police and military—are assisting in the transition. A large technical assistance project related to the electoral process, involving cost-sharing arrangements with several countries, was prepared between November 1991 and March 1992. The project began in March 1992, followed more recently by the electoral component of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II. Both are now completely operational.

151 A sizeable effort is being made to feed the tens of thousands of demobilizing troops and to provide for their vocational training as well as to help the returning refugees. Further, the Special Relief Programme for Angola continues and bilateral assistance has been mobilized with the help of the United Nations. On the military side, the cease-fire has been maintained, although there has recently been an increase in violent incidents throughout the country. Nevertheless, with the help of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, the joint monitoring ma-

chinery has so far managed to keep these under control. Notwithstanding all difficulties, both sides are to be congratulated on the progress they have achieved in implementing the Peace Accords. It is important now that they cooperate more closely with each other and with the United Nations, in order to establish a climate of confidence and ensure the success of elections.

El Salvador

Negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations culminated successfully at the beginning of the year and I had the pleasure of participating in the signature of the final peace agreement between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional as one of my first missions away from Headquarters. The Mexico agreement and others previously signed during the two-year negotiating process constitute a blueprint for the comprehensive, positive transformation of Salvadoran society which was required to bring about national reconciliation. A new nation equipped with reformed institutions is to emerge after a period of transition, which is likely to last through the general elections in early 1994. *152*

The Organization is playing a major and unprecedented role in this transition, in verifying the implementation of all agreements, including the nation-wide monitoring of respect for human rights, which began last year. New verification mandates relate to the separation of forces and the cease-fire, the concentration of combatants, and the reintegration of the members of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional into society, as well as those relating to the reduction and reform of the armed forces and the reform of the judiciary and the electoral system. A new civilian police is being created, as a substitution for previous security bodies controlled by the armed forces. The United Nations is playing a central role in coordinating international assistance in this project. The United Nations is also overseeing action in regard to land and other economic *153*

and social issues. An ad hoc commission composed of distinguished Salvadorans appointed by my predecessor is reviewing the entire officer corps of the armed forces to make binding recommendations regarding their future on the basis of their respect for human rights, professional competence and aptitude for service under the new peacetime criteria for the functioning of that institution. The Commission on the Truth, composed of three eminent non-Salvadorans, also designated by my predecessor, is investigating serious acts of violence that have occurred since 1980 and "whose impact on society urgently demands that the public should know the truth".

154 The implementation of this complex series of agreements was to have been carried out in accordance with an intricate calendar painstakingly negotiated by the parties. While the ceasefire is being respected, considerable problems have arisen in respect of the implementation of other agreements, to the point where adherence to the calendar, already twice revised, may be in question. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador is working closely with the parties to make certain that, through continued dialogue, differences can be smoothly resolved.

155 These five conflicts reveal the paradox of present-day conflict: each is unique, requiring a specific response, yet all require a comprehensive approach that takes into account the wide range of substantive issues and calls for a coordinated and multidimensional international effort.

C. CONFLICTS AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

156 Natural disasters continue to cause massive destruction and suffering, requiring relief aid. Increasingly, however, there is a need to assist people suffering from man-made devastation and warfare. The international community has thus been called upon to

respond to massive new demands involving the provision of urgent humanitarian assistance in conditions of violent civil conflict. The magnitude and complexities of the crises make these efforts especially difficult. To the extent possible, humanitarian action is being integrated with efforts to resolve the underlying causes of the crisis.

157 The difficulty of providing humanitarian assistance to the needy has nowhere been more painfully exhibited than in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. At the onset of the crisis, my predecessor designated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the lead agency for providing assistance to the refugees and displaced persons in the former Yugoslavia. The role of that organization has since vastly expanded. Even after repeated attempts by the international community, assured mechanisms for providing assistance to the needy are still not available. In Somalia, where the entire social infrastructure has collapsed, relief personnel from the United Nations and other organizations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations have been repeatedly subject to assault. The World Food Programme has carried the principal responsibility, with its logistical support, of providing food aid and helping transport non-food aid items along with the United Nations Children's Fund under these difficult circumstances. Both in the case of Somalia and in the former Yugoslavia there have been instances where the provision of relief assistance was deliberately prevented, thus perpetuating the misery of innocent victims held in ransom by the parties to the conflict.

158 Humanitarian assistance must be provided regardless of whether or not there is an immediate political solution. However, the security and protection of staff and the safe and effective delivery of relief materials are major concerns with regard to humanitarian efforts in conflict situations. Indeed, the situations in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia have demonstrated that it may not be a question of the capacity to deliver, but rather

of the security conditions pertaining to distribution of relief supplies, which determine whether humanitarian assistance can be provided. Volatile security situations have in several cases led to the suspension of operations. In other cases, relief operations have continued, but at considerable hazard for those involved. United Nations and other humanitarian relief workers are often exposed to great dangers and many are risking their lives on a daily basis. I greatly admire the courage and humanitarian commitment of these dedicated colleagues. I am, however, very conscious of the heavy responsibility I bear in exposing them to fatal danger. Each situation is unique, requiring caution as well as imagination and flexibility of approach. In finding viable solutions, I shall need the full cooperation of all parties concerned.

159 In cases of man-made emergencies, essential humanitarian assistance must be accompanied by measures to address the root causes through peacemaking and peace-building efforts. Providing succour to the victims of conflict through effective relief programmes can positively assist peacemaking efforts. Corridors of peace and zones of tranquillity for relief delivery can reinforce peacemaking processes. By expanding or broadening such concepts—with the consent of the parties—momentum can be generated for political dialogue and peace efforts. In insisting on close cooperation, I see a dynamic link between peacemaking, peace-keeping and humanitarian assistance, constituting the essence of humanitarian diplomacy.

160 The mechanisms for refugee assistance that emerged in the light of experience in the post-war period have served us well. But with ever-increasing numbers of internally displaced persons—in fact exceeding the number of refugees—there is a need to bring clarity to institutional mandates. This problem has been addressed on an ad hoc basis, but it is now timely to devise a clear United Nations system-wide approach to it.

161 A well-coordinated and coherent United Nations system response to emergencies requires close cooperation among the

key operational organizations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the regional and subregional organizations, and the non-governmental organizations, working together as a team dedicated to the achievement of a shared objective. I am making every effort to ensure that this cooperation and collaboration is achieved, both at the policy level and in the field. This requires changes in attitude and a broad global rather than institutional approach to addressing problems of coordination. I am pleased to say that, even in this short time, considerable progress has been achieved. This is reflected in the newly established inter-agency process for carrying out needs assessment, the preparation of consolidated appeals, the mobilization of resources and follow-up.

162 In accordance with General Assembly resolution 46/182, the Central Emergency Revolving Fund has been established for use in "start-up" emergency operations. Its ultimate success will depend on the cooperation of the operational organizations and the international community. The former must ensure that funds advanced are replenished promptly in accordance with the established guidelines, while the response of the latter to consolidated appeals for emergency assistance will be of critical importance.

163 Disaster preparedness and mitigation constitute major objectives for the United Nations. These are also the focus of the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. The cooperation and involvement of development organizations will be vital to the realization of these objectives. Indeed, enhancement of the preparedness capacity of developing countries is perhaps one of the most important elements of humanitarian response to major natural disasters.

164 The capacity of the system to provide effective and timely assistance is largely dependent upon the resources available to it. I was pleased to see that the international community responded positively to the $854 million appeal for assistance to

the drought-stricken countries of southern Africa when it pledged almost $600 million at the Pledging Conference in June. In contrast, however, most operational organizations continue to face serious financial difficulties, in view of less generous responses to appeals for assistance. My appeal for emergency humanitarian assistance for Afghanistan is a case in point, where less than one third of the $180 million sought has so far been pledged. I call upon the international community to look once again with solidarity upon those less fortunate and to redouble its financial commitments for the benefit of humanitarian programmes in all parts of the world.

FIGURE 4

Peace-keeping activities: Number of personnel deployed, 1987–1992

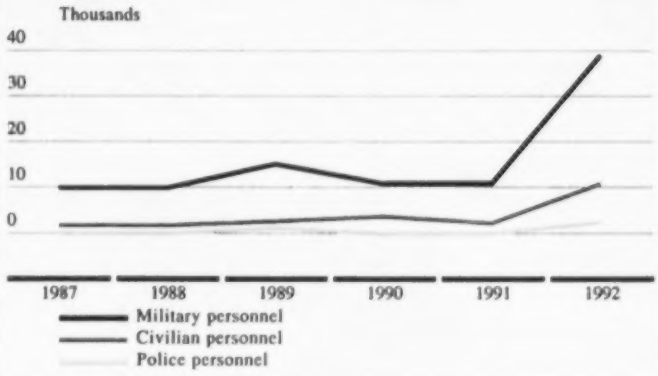


FIGURE 5

Peace-keeping activities: Number of operations deployed and their annual cost, 1987–1992

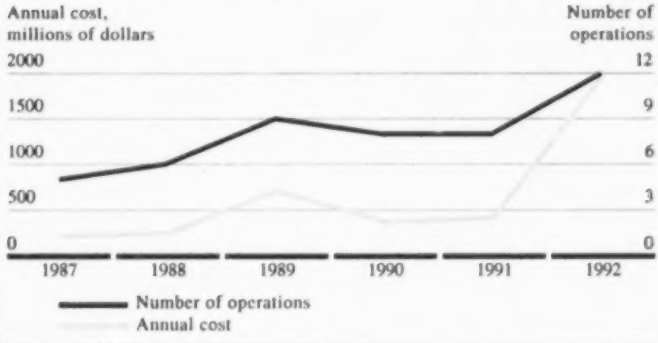
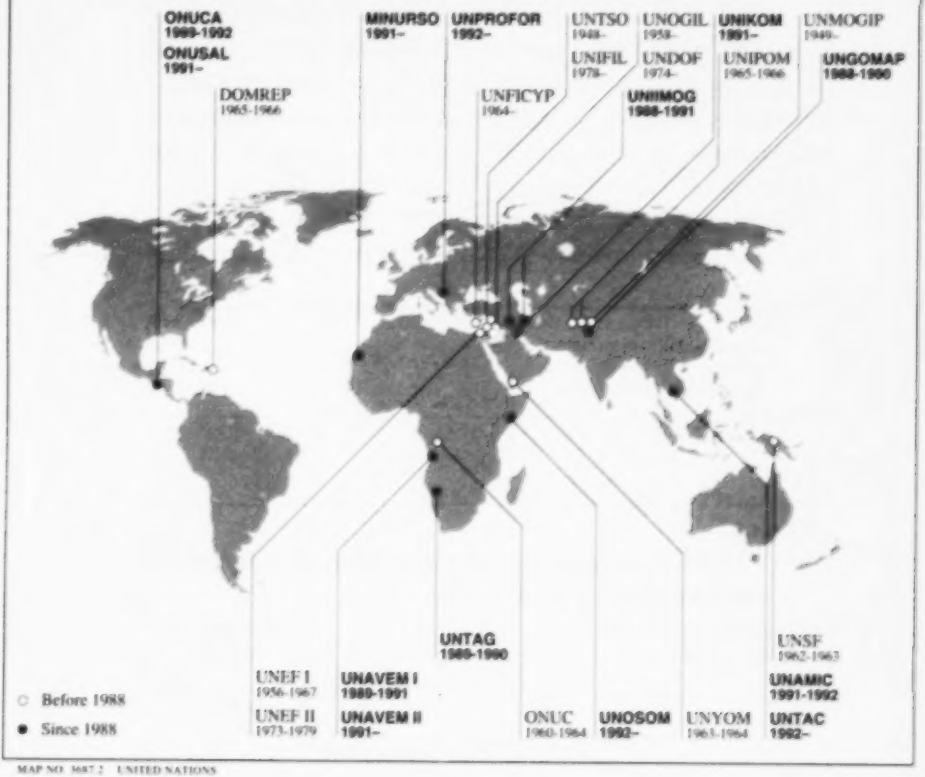


FIGURE 6

Peace-keeping forces and observer missions, 1987–1992



MAP NO. 3687.2 UNITED NATIONS

V. *Conclusion*
Democratization and development

THE challenge to the United Nations is comprehensive: to become at last an effective collective instrument of global peace and security, to foster responsible relations within the community of States, to ensure the respect of the rights of all peoples for self-determination, to achieve international cooperation in the solution of economic, social, intellectual, ecological and humanitarian problems. *165*

The old international order has been swept away by a tidal wave of democratization. Thirst for democracy has been a major cause of change, and it will continue to be a force for the construction of a better world. The United Nations must foster, through its peace-building measures, the process of democratization in situations characterized by long-standing conflicts, both within and among nations. *166*

I am committed, as Secretary-General, to reform the Organization to ensure that each of its organs employs its fullest capabilities in the balanced and harmonious fashion envisioned by the Charter of the United Nations. The pace of reform must be increased if the United Nations is to keep ahead of the acceleration of history that characterizes this age. All organs of the United Nations must be accorded and play their full and proper role so that the trust of all nations and peoples will be retained and deserved. *167*

In this regard, the United Nations is of particular significance to the developing countries. It is not only a forum where their voices can be heard; it also provides a means of consensus-building aimed at securing the socio-economic underpinnings of political freedom. The United Nations has a crucial responsi- *168*

bility to monitor economic and social trends that may become sources of political tensions, violence and repression. Stark poverty, economic deprivation, political denial and social alienation provide little nourishment for the growth of democracy. The United Nations must push for a global partnership to promote the integration of the developing countries, and those in transition, into the world economy. International financial and developmental agencies are a powerful instrument for realizing a people-centred vision of development that goes beyond the statistics of economic performance among the industrialized and the developing countries. The promotion of universal political participation and world-wide economic recovery are not distant goals; they are the foundations of a healthy and effective movement for democracy.

169 Democracy within the family of nations means the application of its principles within the world Organization itself. I am committed to a broad dialogue between the Member States and the Secretary-General. Preserving the moral authority of the United Nations requires the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the United Nations. This in turn requires the empowerment of people in civil society, providing help where it is needed by supporting indigenous communities, non-governmental organizations, citizens' groups and the private sector.

170 Here then, in 1992, a better world is within our reach. It is the time to move forward deliberately and conscientiously towards the realization of the vast potential of this unique Organization and to bring new life to the world of the Charter.

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DPI / 1289
Printed in U.S.A.
92995 • September 1992 • 15 M